

A BRIEF
RELATION
OF
THE DEATH AND
SVFFERINGS OF THE
MOST REVEREND AND
RENOWNED PRELATE
THE LARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY:

With,

A more perfect Copy of his Speech,
and other passages on the Scaffold, than
hath beene hitherto imprinted.

JEREM. 26. 14, 15.

14. *As for mee, behold I am in your hands, do with mee as
seemeth good and meete unto you:*

15. *But know ye for certaine, that if yee put mee to death, ye
shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon this
City, and upon the Inhabitants thereof, &c.*

OXFORD,

Printed in the Yeare 1644.

A
BRIEFVE RELATION
OF THE DEATH AND
sufferings of the most Reve-
rend and Renowned Prelate,
the Lord Arch-Bishop of Can-
terbury, &c.

IT is a preposterous kinde of writing to beginne the story of a great mans life, at the houre of his death; a most strange way of setting forth a solemne *Tragedie*, to keepe the *principall Actor* in the *tyring-house*, till the *Play* be done, and then to bring him on the *Stage* onely to speake the *Epilogue*, and receive the *Plaudites*. Yet this must bee the scope and method of these following papers. To write the whole life of the most Reverend and Renowned *Prelate* the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, would require more time then publique expectation can endure to heare of. Those that can judge (as all wise men may) of the brightnesse and glories of the Sunne in his highest altitude by the clearenesse of his going downe; or that can *Ortum Solis in occasu querere*: discerne the rising of the Sunne (as once *Straton* did) by the reflection of his beames in a Westerne cloud; may by the glorious manner of his death and sufferings, presented in these short *Remembrances*, conjecture at the splendour of those rare endowments both of Grace and Nature, where-

Justin. hist. 1.
11.

with his former life was adorned and beautified. The ordinary and unsatisfied Reader, may for his farther satisfaction repaire to Master *Prynn's Breviate* of his life and actions, though publish'd of purpose to defame him, and render him more odious to the common people. Concerning which, the Reader may observe in breife, that all which Mr. *Prynn's* industrious malice hath accused him of in those Collections, is, that hee was a man of such eminent vertues, such an exemplary piety towards God, such an unwearied fidelity to his gracious Sovereigne, of such a publique soule towards Church and State; so fixt a constancy in Freindship, and one so little biassed by his private interestes; that this Age affords not many Equalls. And it would trouble *Plutarch*, (if he were alive,) to finde out a fit *Parallell* with whom to match him. All therefore I shall doe at the present time, (and 'tis the last publique Office I shall do him) is, to lay downe the story of his *death* and *sufferings*, together with a view of those *plots* and *practises* which were set on foote, to pluck a few yeares from a weake old man, and bring him to an unnaturall calamitous end. For though that *maxime* in *Philosophy* is most true and certaine; that *corruptio est in instanti*, that death comes to us in a *moment*, or in the twinkling of an eye, as the Scriptures phrase is; yet are there many *previous dispositions* which make way unto it; all which are comprehended in the name of *death*. And in that latitude of expression doe we take the word, in laying downe the story of his *death* before you; which being writ out of an honest zeale to truth, and a sincere affection to his name and memory, shall either bee approved of, or at least excused.

1 Cor. 15 52.

II.
Opr. de Schif.
Donatist. l. 1.

It was the practice and position of the antient *Donatists*, (the Predecessours and Progenitors of the modern *Puritan*) *occidere quemcumq; qui contra eos fecerit*; to kill and make away whoever durst oppose their doings, or was conceived to be an hinderance to their growing faction. And by this

Card

Card their followers in these Kingdomes have beene steered of late, imprisoning and destroying all who have stood against them. It is long since they entertained such desperate purposes against the life and person of the Lord Arch-Bishop, threatening his death in scattered Libels, telling him that his life was sought for, that neither God nor man could endure so vile a Counsellour to live any longer. This was about the end of *March* 1629. and was the *Prologue* to those libels, full of threats and scandals, which yeare by yeare exasperated and inflamed the people, till they had made them ripe for mischeife, and readily prepared to execute whatever their grand Directours should suggest unto them. Saint *Paul* did never fight more frequent and more terrible combats with the *beasts of Ephesus*, for the promotion of the Gospel, then he with these untractable and fiery spirits, who most seditiously opposed his religious purposes of settling unity and uniformity in this Church of *England*. And in this state things stood till the yeare, 1640. in which not onely many factious and seditious people in and about the City of *London*, made an assault by night on his house at *Lambeth*, with an intent to murther him, had they found him there: but the whole faction of the *Scots* declared in a *Remonstrance* to the *English* Nation, that one of the cheife causes which induced them to invade this Realme, was to remove him from his Majesty, and bring him to the punishment which he had deserved. The manner of their comming hither, and the great entertainment given them by the faction here, shewed plainely that they were not like to bee sent away without their *Errand*: and makes it evident that his ruine was resolved on in their *secret Counsells*, before the Parliament was called, or that they had declared so much by their will revealed.

The *Parliament* had not long continued, but he is named for an *Incendiary* by the *Scottish Commissioners*; and thereupon accused of *Treason* by the *House of Commons*. And although

III.

Decemb. 18.
1640.

though no particular *Charge* was brought against him, but onely a bare promise to prepare it in convenient time; yet was he presently committed to the custody of the *Gentleman Usher*, and by him kept in dureffe till the end of *February*, (being full tenne weeks;) about which time his charge was brought unto the *Lords*, but in generals only, and longer time required for particular instances. And yet upon this *Lydford law*, by which they used to hang men first, and endite them afterwards,) was he committed to the *Tower*, being followed almost all the way by the Rascall multitude,

March. 1. 1640

who barbarously pursued him with reproach and clamours to the very gates; and there detained, contrary to all law and justice, almost foure yeares longer. This was the first great breach which was made by *Parliament* in the *liberties* of the *English Subject*; (save that their like proceedings with the Earle of *Strafford*, was a preparative unto it;) and was indeed the very *gappe*, at which the *slavery* and *oppression*, under which this miserable Nation doth now pine and languish, did breake in upon them. What right could meaner persons looke for, when as so great a *Peere* was doomed to so long imprisonment, without being called unto his Answer! What else hath filled so many *Prisons* in most parts of the Kingdome, with the best and wealthiest of the Subjects; but the most dangerous effects and consequences of this woful *President*! Which as it was the leading case unto all our pressures; so might those pressures have been remedied, had the Subject made his Case their owne; and laboured to prevent it in convenient time. But such a miserable *insatiation* had befallen them generally, that *seeing they did see, but would not perceive*.

Matth. 13. 14.

IV

But yet the malice of his Enemies was not so contented. For though some of the more moderate (or rather the lesse violent) *Lords*, who did not pierce into the depth of the designe, gave out that they intended only to remove him from

from His Majesties care, and to deprive him of his *Arch-Bishoprick*, (which resolution notwithstanding being taken up before any charge was brought against him, was as unjust though not so cruell, as the others:) yet they shewed only by this *Overture*, that they did reckon without their hosts, and might be of the *Courts* perchance, but not of the *Counsell*. The leading and predominant party thought of nothing lesse, then that he should escape with *life*, or goe off with *liberty*. Onely perhaps they might conceive some wicked hopes, that either the tediousnesse of his restraint, or the indignities and affronts which day by day were offer'd to him, would have broke his heart, not formerly accustomed to the like oppressions. And then like *Pilate* in the Gos- Matt. 27. 24
 pel they had called for *water*, and washed their hands before the multitude, and said, that they were innocent of the bloud of that righteous person: thinking that by such wretched figge-leaves, they could not only hide their wickednesse, and deceive poore men; but that God also might be mocked, and his All-seeing eye deluded, to which all hearts lye open, all desires are knowne, and from which no secrets can be hidden. To this end not content to immure him up within the walls of the *Tower*, they robbe him of his *meniall* servants, Octob 26 and
Novemb. 16.
1642.
 reltaine him to two only of his number, and those not to have conference with any others, but in the presence of his *Warder*: and in conclusion make him a *close Prisoner*, not suffering him to goe out of his lodging to refresh himselfe, but in the company of his *keeper*. And all this while May 9. 1643.
 they vex his soul continually with scandalous and infamous Papers, and set up factious and seditious Preachers to inveigh against him in the Pulpit to his very face; so to expose him to the scorne both of boyes and women, who many times stood up and turned towards him, to observe his countenance, to see if any alteration did appear therein. As May 15.
1642.
 And to the same ungodly end, did they devest him of his *Archiepiscopall* and *Episcopall* jurisdiction, conferring it on his inferiour and subordinate Officers; lequester his rents
 under

Oct 23. 1641. under pretence of maintenance for the Kings younger Children (as if His Majesties Revenues which they had invaded, were not sufficient for that purpose,) convert his House at *Lambeth* into a Prison, and confiscate all his coals and fewell to the use of their Gaoler; deprive him of his right of *Patronage*, and take into their owne hands the disposing of all his *Benefices*; seize upon all his goods and bookes which they found at *Lambeth*; and in conclusion rife him of his notes and papers, not onely such as were of ordinary use and observation, but such as did concerne him in the way of his just *defence*. In which they did not any thing from the first to the last, but in a proud *defiance* to the lawes of the land, which they most impudently violated in all these particulars: and more then so, they had proceeded steppe by steppe, to this height of tyranny a whole year almost before they had digested their generall charge into particular Accusations; or ever called him to his Answer in due forme of law.

V. But God had given him such a measure both of strength and patience, that these afflictions, though most great and irksome, did make no more impressions on him, then an Arrow on a rocke of *Adamant*. For at his first commitment he besought his God, (as Master *Pryn* observes out of his *Manuall of devotions*) to give him full patience, proportionable comfort, and contentment with whatsoever he should send; and he was heard in that he prayed for. For notwithstanding that he had fed so long on the bread of carefullnesse, and dranke the water of affliction: yet, as the Scripture telleth us of the foure Hebrew children, his countenance appeared fairer and fatter in flesh, then any of those who eat their portion of the Kings meat, or dranke of his wine. And he was wont to say to his private friends, that, he thanked God, he never found more sweet contentment in his greatest liberty, then in the time of that restraint. And certainly it was no wonder that it should be so, he being conscious to himselfe of no other crimes,

Dan. 1. 13.

crimes, which drew that fatall storme upon him, then a religious zeale to the honour of God, the happinesse of the King, and the preservation of the Church in her peace and patrimony, as he professeth at his death before all the people. So that despairing of successe in the way intended his enemies fell upon another, but more desperate course, which was to ship him for *New-England*, and make him subject to the insolencies of *Wells* and *Peers*, two notorious *Schismaticks*. But this being put to the question in the house of *Commons*, April 25. 1643. was rejected by the major part: not out of pity to his age, or consideration of his quality, nor in respect unto the lawes so often violated; but to preserve him yet a while, as a stale or property, wherewith to cheat the *Citizens* of some further summes, and to invite the *Scots* to a new invasion, when their occasion so required. For it was little doubted by discerning men, but that the *Scots*, who made their first invasion on a probable hope of sequestering the Lord Archbishop and the Earle of *Strafford* from His Majesties Counsels; and sped it so well in their designe, that they were recompensed already with the death of the one, would easily be tempted to a second journey, upon assurance to be glutted with the blood of the other.

And this appeares more plaine and evident, in that about the coming on of the *Scots*, which was in the midst of *January* 1643. they did againe revive the businesse, which had long layen dormant; causing the *Articles*, which they had framed in maintenance of their former *Accusation*, to be put in print about that time, as is apparent by the Test of *Iohn Browne* their Clerke, dated the 17 of that moneth. And as the *Scots* advanced or slackned in their marches Southward, so did they either quicken or retard the works: till hearing of the great successes which they had in *Yorkshire*, they gave command to Master *Pryne* (a man most mischievously industrious to disturbe the publique) to prosecute the charge against him, and bring him to his long expected

VI:

In his Epistle
to the Breviate

Luke 22.31.

pestered trial; as he reports it of himselfe, who, having rifled him of his Papers, and thereby robbed him of those helps, which hee had purposely reserved for his just defence; and having personall quarrels of his owne to revenge upon him, was thought to be the fittest *bloud-bound* in the whole kennell, to pursue the sent. And now there was no talke but of quicke dispatch. When *hatred* doth accuse, and *malice* prosecute, and prejudice and *prepossession* sit upon the *Bench*, God helpe the innocent. There's nothing but a miracle can preserve him then. And so it proved in the event. They called him often to the *Barre*, both before and after, caused a strict inquisition to be made into all his actions: they *winnowed* him like *wheate*, and *sifted* him to the very bran, (which was you know the *Devils* office;) they had against him all advantages of power and malice, and witnesses at hand upon all occasions: but still they found his answers and his resolutions of so good a temper, his innocence and integrity of so bright a die, that as they knew not how to dismiss him with credit, so neither could they find a way to condemne him with justice. And though their Consciences could tell them, that hee had done nothing which deserved either *death* or *bonds*; yet either to reward or oblige the *Scots*, who would not thinke themselves secure whilst his head was on, they were resolved to bring him to a speedy end. Onely they did desire, if possible, to lay the *Odium* of the murther upon the common people. And therefore Serjeant *Wilde* in a speech against him, having aggravated his supposed offences to the highest pitch, concluded thus, that *hee was guilty of so many and notorious treasons, so evidently destructive to the common-wealth, that he marvelled the people did not teare him in pieces as hee passed betweene his barge, and the Parliament Houses.* Which barbarous & bloudy project when it would not take, and that though many of the Rabble did desire his death, yet none would be the executioner; they then employed some of their most malicious and most active instruments, to goe from dore to dore, and from

from man to man, to get hands against him; and so petition those to hasten to his condemnation, which must forsooth be forced to their owne desires: (whereof, and of the *Magistrates standing still*, and suffering them to proceed without any check, he gave them a *memento* in his dying speech.) This being obtained, the businesse was pursued with such heate and violence, that by the beginning of *November* it was made ready for a sentence; which some conceived would have beene given in the *Kings Bench*, and that their proofes (such as they were) being fully ripened, hee should have beene put over to a *Middlesex Jury*. But they were onely some poore *Ignorants* which conceived so of it. The leading members of the Plot thought of no such matter; and, to say truth, it did concerne them highly not to goe that way. For though there was no question to be made at all, but that they could have packed a *Jury* to have found the *Bill*; but by a clause in the *Attaindure* of the *Earle of Strafford* they had bound the *Judges*, not to declare those facts for treason in the time to come, for which they had condemned and executed that Heroicke Peere. And therefore it was done with great care and caution to proceed by *Ordinance*, and vote him guilty first in the *House of Commons*; in which being parties, witnesses, and Judges too, they were assured to passe it as they would themselves; which was done accordingly, about the 20 of *November*.

But yet the businesse was not done, for the *Lords* flucke at it. Some of which having not extinguished all the *Sparkes* of honour, did by the light thereof discover the injustice of so foule a practice; together with the danger might befall themselves, if once disfavoured by the *Grandeers* of that potent faction. A thing so stomacked by the *Commons*, that after some evaporations of their heate and passion, which broke out into open threats, they presently drew and sent up an *Ordinance* to the *Lords*, tending to dispossesse them

Of all power and command in their Armies. But fearing this device was too weeke to hold, they fall upon another and a likelier project, which was to bring the *Lords* to sit in the *Commons House*; where they were sure they should be inconsiderable both for power and number. And to effect the same with more speed and certainty, they had recourse to their old Arts, drew downe Sir *David Watkins* with his generall muster of subscriptions, and put a petition in his hands, to be tendred by him to the *Houses*, that is, themselves: wherein it was required amongst other things, that they would vigorously proceed unto the punishment of all *Delinquents*; and that for the more quick dispatch of the publick businesse of the State, the *Lords* would please to vote and sit together with the *Commons*. On such uncertaine termes, such a ticklish *Tenure* do they now hold their place and power in *Parliament*; who so efficiently complied with the *House of Commons*, in depriving the *Bishops* of their *Votes*, and the *Churches* birth-right. And this was it which helped them in that time of need. For by this (though stile and common) Stratagem did they prevaile so far upon some weak spirits, that the Earles of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrook*, the Lords, *North*, *Gray of Wark*, and *Brews*, (a *Scotchman*, but an *English Baron*, and generally called the Earle of *Elgin*) resolved to yeild unto the current of so strong a streame: and thought they made a gaining voyage, if by delivering the Lord *Arch-Bishop* to the peoples fury, they might preserve themselves in the peoples favour. And we know well, both who it was and what end he came to, who, though he knew that the accused party was delivered him out of envy onely, and that he found no evil he was guilty of; yet being wearied with the clamours and the *Crucifixes* of the common people, and fearing that some tumult would be made about it, & livered him unto his enemies to be put to death. And for those other *Lords* who withdrew themselves, and neither durst condemne nor protect the innocent; (though for the major part, as it is reported)

Mat. 27. v. 18.

22, 23, 24, 26.

ted) it is not easy to determine, whether their conscience were more tender, their Collusion groffer, or their courage weaker. All I shall say is onely this, that *Claudias Lysias* Act. 23. v. 13. 20. 23. &c. in the *Acts*, had beene as guilty of Saint Pauls death, as any of the forty who had vowed to kill him; if upon notice of the Plot which was laid to murder him, he had brought him down unto the people, or not conveyed him with a strong guard to the Court of Felix. The journeyes end must needs be foule, which such lewd and crooked waies do conduct unto. And it is worth your observation, that the same day, the fourth of January, in which they passed this bloody Ordinance, (as if therein they would cry quittance with His Sacred Majesty, who on the same accused the six guilt Members) they passed another for establishing their new *Directory*; which in effect is nothing but a totall abolition of the Common-prayer-booke: and thereby shewed unto the world, how little hopes they had of settling their new forme of worship if the foundation of it were not laid in bloud.

The *Bill* being thus dispatched in the House of Lords, (if still they may be called the *Lords*, which are so over-loaded by the Common people) there wanted yet the Kings Assent to give life to it: which they so far contemned, (they had more reason to despare of it) that they never sought it. They had screwed up their *Ordinances* to so high a pitch, that never *Act* of *Parliament* was of more authority: and having found the subjects so obedient as to yeild unto them in matters which concerned them in their goods and liberties; it was but one step more to make triall of them, whether they would submit their lives to the selfe same tyranny: And this they made the first experiment in this kind, both of their own power, and the peoples patience; he being the first man, as himselfe noted in his speech, (which words are purposely omitted in *Hinders Copy* of it;) that was ever put to death by *Ordinance* in *Parliament*: but whether he shall be the last, further time will shew. Certaine it is, that by this

Ordinance

VIII.

Declaration a-
bout the twen-
tieth part.

masters of the Subjects life, which they can call for at their pleasure, as no doubt they will; and lest him nothing but his fetters he can call his owne. Just as it was observed by our Gracious Sovereigne, upon occasion of the Ordinance for the 20th part, that the same power which robbed the Subject of the twentieth part of their Estates, had by that only made a claime and entituled it selfe to the other nineteene, whensoever it should be thought expedient to hasten on the generall ruine. In which His Majesty hath proved but too true a Prophet. And though perhaps some of the people were well pleased with this bloody Ordinance, and ran with joy to see it put in execution; yet all wise men doe looke upon it as the last groane or gaspe of our dying liberty. And let both them and those who passed it, be assured of this, that they who doe so gadly sell the blood of their fellow Subjects, seldome want Chapmen for their owne in an open Market.

IX:

Magna Ch. c. I.

And here, as it was once observed, that the predominant party of the United Provinces, to bring about their ends in the death of Barneveldt, subverted all those fundamentall Lawes of the Belgick liberty; for maintenance whereof they took up Arms against Philip the 2 so would I know which of those Fundamentall Lawes of the English Government have not beene violated by these men in their whole proceedings; for preservation of which Lawes (or rather under colour of such preservation) they have bewitched the people unto this Rebellion: It is a Fundamentall Law of the English Government, and the first Article in the Magna Charta, that the Church of England shall be free, and shall have her whole Rights and Priviledges inviolable: yet to make way unto the condemnation of this innocent man, and other the like wicked and ungodly ends, the Bishops must be Voted out of their place in Parliament, which most of them have held farre longer in their Predecessors, then any of our noble Families in their Progenitours. And if the Lords refuse

must come downe to the House in multitudes, and cry, *No Bishops, no Bishops*, at the Parliament doores, till by the terrour of their tumults they extort it from them. It is a *Fundamentall Law* of the *English* liberty, that no *Free man* shall be taken or imprisoned without cause shewne, or be detained without being brought unto his Answer in due forme of Law: yet heere wee see a *Free-man* imprisoned tenne whole weekes together, before any Charge was brought against him; and kept in prison three yeeres more, before his generall Accusation was by them reduced into particulars; and for a yeere almost detained close prisoner, without being brought unto his answer, as the Law requires. It is a *Fundamentall Law* of the *English* Government, that no man be disseised of his *Freehold* or *Liberties*, but by the knowne *Lawes* of the Land: yet here wee see a man disseised of his *Rents* and *Lands*, spoyled of his *Goods*, deprived of his *jurisdiction*, devided of his *Right* and *Patronage*; and all this done, when hee was so farre from being convicted by the *Lawes* of the Land, that no particular charge was so much as thought of. It is a *Fundamentall Law* of the *English* Liberty, that no man shall be condemned, or put to death, but by lawfull judgement of his *Peeres*, or by the *Law* of the Land, i. e. in the ordinary way of a legall tryall: and sure an *Ordinance* of both Houses, without the *Royall Assent*, is no part of the *Law* of *England*, nor held an ordinary way of triall for the *English* subject, or ever reckoned to be such in the former times. And finally, it is a *Fundamentall Law* in the *English* Government, that if any other case (then those recited in the Statute of King Edward 3.) which is supposed to be *Treason*, doe happen before any of His Majesties Justices, the Justices shall tarry without giving judgement, till the cause be shewne and declared before the King, and His Parliament, whether it ought to be judged *Treason* or not: yet here wee have a new found *Treason*, never knowne before, nor declared such by any of His Majesties Justices,

Magn. Chart. c.
29. 28 Edw. 3.
And the Petition
of Right.

Magn. Chart. c.
29. 28 Edw. 3.

Ibid.

25 Edw. 3.

NOT

nor ever brought to be considered of by the *King and His Parliament*, but onely voted to be such by some of those few *Members* which remaine at *Westminster*, who were resolved to have it so for their private ends. Put all which hath been said together, and then tell me truly, if there be any difference (for I see not any) betweene the ancient *Roman slaves*, and the once *Free-born Subject* of the *English Nation*, whose *life and liberty*, whose *goods and fortunes* depend on the meere pleasure of their *mighty Masters*.

But to returne unto our *Story*, the passing of the *Ordinance* being made knowne unto him, he neither entertained the newes with a *Stoicall Apathie*, nor wailed his Fate with weake and womanish lamentations, (to which extreames most men are carried in this case) but heard it with so even and so smooth a temper, as shewed he neither was afraid to live, nor ashamed to die. The time betweene the Sentence and the Execution, he spent in prayers and applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a *Chaplain* of his owne, to attend upon him, and to assist him in the worke of his preparation: though little preparation needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcome, because long expected. For so well was he studied in the art of dying (especially in the last and strictest part of his imprisonment) that by continuall fasting, watching, prayers, and such like acts of Christian humiliation, his flesh was rarified into spirit, and the whole man so fitted for eternall glories, that he was more then halfe in heaven, before death brought his bloody (but triumphant) chariot to convey him thither. He that had so long been a *Confessor*, could not but thinke it a release of miserie to be made a *Martyr*. And as is recorded of *Alexander the Great*, that the night before his best and greatest battaile with *Darius the Persian*, he fell into so sound a sleepe, that his Princes hardly could awake him when the morning came: so is it certified of this great *Prelate*. that on the evening before his *Passover*, the night before the
dismall

Plutarch in
Alexandre.

dismall combat betwixt him and *death*, after he had refreshed his spirits with a moderate supper, he betooke himselfe unto his rest, and slept very soundly, till the time came in which his servants were appointed to attend his rising. A most assured signe of a soule prepared. The fatall morning being come, he first applyed himselfe to his private prayers, and so continued, till *Pennington*, and other of their publique Officers came to conduct him to the Scaffold: which he ascended with so brave a courage, such a chearfull countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a triumph, then to make a sacrifice, and came not there to die, but to be *translated*. And to say truth, it was no Scaffold, but a *Throne*; a Throne whereon he shortly was to receive a *Crowne*, even the most glorious Crowne of *Martyrdome*. And though some rude, uncivill people reviled him as he passed along with opprobrious language, as loth to let him goe to the *Grave* in peace, it never discomposed his thoughts, nor disturbed his patience. For he had profited so well in the Schoole of *Christ*, that when he was reviled he reviled not again, when he suffered he threatned not, but committed his cause to him that judgeth righteously. And as he did not feare the frownes, so neither did he cover the applause of the vulgar herd, and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speake unto the people, then to affect the ostentation either of memory or wit in that dreadfull *Agony*: whether with greater *magnanimity* or *prudence*, I can hardly say. As for the matter of his Speech, besides what did concerne himselfe and his owne *purgation*, his great care was to cleare His Majestie, and the Church of *England* from any inclination unto *Popery*; with a perswasion of the which, the Authors of our present miseries had abused the people, and made them take up Armes against their *Soveraigne*. A faithfull servant to the last. By meanes whereof, as it is said of *Sampson* in the booke of *Judges*, Judg. 21. 30. that the men which he slew at his death were more then they which he slew in his life: so may it be affirmed of this fa-

Friday Jan. 10.
1644.

1 Pet. 2. 23.

Judg. 21. 30.

mous Prelate, that he gave a greater blow unto the enemies of God and the King at the houre of his death, than he had given them in his whole life before ; of which I doubt not but the King and the Church will find speedy fruits. But this you will more clearely see by the Speech it selte, which followeth here according to the best and most perfect Copies.

XI

A Speech of the L. Archbishop of Canterbury, spoken at his death upon the Scaffold on the Tower-hill January 10. 1644.

Good People,

THis is an uncomfortable time to Preach, yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, Heb. 12. 2. Let us run with Patience that race which is set before us, Looking unto JESUS the Author and finisher of our Faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despising the shame, & is set down at the right hand of the throne of God, *I have beene long in my Race, and how I have looked to JESUS the Author and finisher of my Faith, He best knowes: I am now come to the end of my Race, and here I finde the Crosse, a death of shame; but the shame must be despised, or no comming to the right hand of God; Jesus despised the shame for me, and God forbid but I should despise the shame for Him; I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brinke of it; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of promise, for that was the way through which he led his People: But before they came to it, He instituted a Passeover for them, a Lambe it was, but it must be eaten with sower Hearbs, I shall obey, and labour to digest the sower Hearbs, as well as the Lambe. And I shall remember it is the Lord's Passeover; I shall not thinke of the Herbs, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them; but looke up only*

Ezod. 12. 8.

to Him who instituted that, and governess these; For men can have no more power over me then what is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage, through the Red Sea, for I have the weakenesse and infirmities of flesh and bloud plentifully in me; And I have prayed with my Saviour, ut transiret Calixiste, that this Cup of Red wine might passe from me: But if not, God's will (not mine) be done and I shall most willingly drinke of this Cup as deepe as He pleases, and enter into this Sea, yea and passe through it, in the way that he shall lead me. Joh. 19. 11
Luk. 22. 4

But I would have it remembred (Good people) that when Gods Servants were in this boysterous Sea, and Aaron among them, the Egyptians which persecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into that Sea) were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them; I know my God whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Bloud, as he was to deliver the three Children from the Furnace; and (I most humbly thanke my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now, as theirs was then; They would not worship the Image the King had set up, nor will I the Imaginations which the People are setting up; nor will I forsake the Temple and the truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboams Calfe, in Dan and in Bethel. And as for this People, they are at this day miserably misled, (God of his mercy open their Eyes that they may see the right way) for at this day the Blind lead the Blind, and if they goe on, both will certainly into the ditch. For my selfe, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most greivous Sinner many waies, by thought, word, and deed, and I cannot doubt, but that God hath mercy in store for me (a poore Penitent) as well as for other sinners, I have now upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my Heart, and yet (I thanke God) I have not found (among the many) any one sinne which deserves death by any knowne Law of this Kingdome; And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon prooffe (by valuable witnesses) I or any other innocent, may be justly condemned; And I

thanke God) though the weight of the sentence lye heavie upon me, I am as quiet within, as ever I was in my life. And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever dyed by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this meanes; For Elphegus was hurried away and lost his head by the Danes; and Symon Sudbury in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellowes; Before these, Saint Jon Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and Saint Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting Sword. Many Examples (great and good) and they teach me patience; for I hope my Cause in Heaven will looke of another dye, then the colour that is put upon it here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I goe the way of these great men in their severall generations, but also that my Charge (as fowle as 'tis made) lookes like that of the Jewes against Saint Paul (Acts. 25. 3.) For he was accused for the Law and the Temple, i. e. Religion; And like that of Saint Stephen (Acts 6. 14.) for breaking the Ordinances which Moses gave, i. e. Law and Religion, the holy place and the Temple (verse. 13.) But you will say, doe I then compare my selfe with the integrity of Saint Paul, and Saint Stephen? No, farre be that from me; I only raise a comfort to my selfe, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their times, as I am now. And 'tis memorable, that Saint Paul who helped on this Accusation against Saint Stephen: did after fall under the very same himselfe. Yea, but here's a great Clamour that I would have brought in Popery; I shall Answer that more fully by and by; In the meane time you know what the Pharises said against Christ himselfe, If we let him alone, all men will beleive in him, Et venient Romani, and the Romans will come, and take away both our place and the Nation. Here was a causelesse Cry against Christ that the Romans will come; And see how just the judgement of God was; they crucified Christ for feare lest the Romans should come, and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God punishing them
With

Joh. 11. 48.

with that which they most feared: and I pray God this Clamour of Venient Romani (of which I have given no cause) helpe not to bring them in; for the Pope never had such a Harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are amongst us, In the meane time, by Honour and dishonour, by good report and evill report, as a deceiver and yet true, am I passing through this world, 2 Cor. 6. 8. --- Some particulars also I thinke it not amisse to speake of.

And first, this I shall be bold to speake of, the King our gracious Sovereign; He hath bin much traduced also for bringing in of Popery; but on my Conscience (of which I shall give God a very present accompt) I know Him to be as free from this Charge, as any man living; and I hold Him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law established) as any man in this Kingdome; And that he will venture His Life as farre, and as freely for it; and I thinke I doe, or should know, both His affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

The second particular is concerning this great and Populous City, (which God blesse.) Here hath beene of late, a fashion taken up, to gather hands, and then goe to the Great Court of this Kingdome, (the Parliament) and clamour for Justice, as if that great and wise Court, before whom the Causes come, (whitch are unknowne to the many) could not, or would not doe Justice, but at their appointment. A way, which may endanger many an Innocent man, and plucke his bloud upon their owne heads, and perhaps upon the Citie's also: And this hath beene lately practised against my selfe; [the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without checke;] God forgive the setters of this (with all my heart I begge it) but many well meaning People are caught by it. In Saint Stephen's case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the People against him; and Herod went the same way, when he had killed Saint James, yet he would not venture upon Saint Peter, till he found how the other

Reader the words included [] are left out in the speech published by Hinde. Acts 6. 12.

Isa. 1. 15.

Psal. 9. 12.

Heb. 12.

See the words
at large in the
tittle of this
Relation.

pleased the People. But take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time (best knowne to himselfe) when God (above other sinnes) makes Inquisition for blood, and when that Inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, That God remembers (but that's not all) He remembers and forgits not the Complaint of the Poore, that is, whose blood is shed by oppression, ver. 9. take heed of this, 'Tis a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God, but then especially, when he is making Inquisition for blood; And (with my Prayers to avert it) I doe heartily desire this City to remember the Prophecy that is expressed, Jer. 26. 15.

The third particular is the poore Church of England. It hath flourished and beene a shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when stormes have driven upon them. But, alas, now 'tis in a storme it selfe, and God onely knowes whether, or how it shall get out; and (which is worse then a storme from without) it's become like an Oake cleft to shivers with wedges made out of it's owne body, and at every cleft prophanesse and Irreligion is entring in, while as Prosper speakes (in his second Book De vitæ contemptu, cap. 4.) Men that introduce prophanesse are cloaked over with the name Religionis Imaginariae, of Imaginary Religion; for we have lost the Substance and dwell to much in Opinion, and that Church which all the Jesuits machinations could not ruine, is fallen into danger by her owne.

The last particular (for I am not willing to be too long) is my selfe; I was borne and baptized in the bosome of the Church of England established by Law; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to dye; This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matter of Religion; and therefore I desire it may be remembred, I have alwaies lived in the Protestant Religion, established in England, and in that I come now to dye. What Clamours and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keepe a Uniformity in the externall service of God, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now

Now at last I am accused of High Treason in Parliament: a Crime which my soule ever abhorred; this Treason was charged to consist of these two parts, An endeavour to subvert the Lawes of the Land, and a like Endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion Established by Law. Besides my answers to the severall Charges, I protested my Innocency in both Houses. It was said Prisoners protestations at the Barre must not be taken. I can bring no witnesse of my heart and the intentions thereof, therefore I must come to my Protestation not at the Barre, but my Protestation at this houre and instant of my death; in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to thinke I would dye and dissemble, being instantly to give God an accompt for the truth of it: I doe therefore here in the presence of God, and his holy Angels, take it upon my death, That I never endeavoured the subversion either of Law or Religion; and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine for my Innocency, in these, and from all Treasons what soever. I have beene accused likewise as an Enemy to Parliaments: No, I understand them and the benefit that comes by them too well to be so; But I did mislike the misgovernments of some Parliaments many waies, and I had good reason for it; For Corruptio optimi est pessima, there is no corruption in the world so bad, as that which is of the best thing in it selfe; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the highest Court, over which no other have Jurisdiction, when 'tis mis-informed or misgoverned, the Subject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he doe but conceive that I have, Lord doe thou forgive me, and I begge forgiveness of him, And so I heartily desire you to joyne in Prayer with me.

O Eternall God and mercifull Father, looke downe upon me The Arch Bishops prayer
in mercy, in the Riches and fullnesse of all thy mercies look upon the Scaffold,
upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sinnes to the Crosse of
Christ

Christ, not till thou hast bathed me in the bloud of Christ; not till I have hid my selfe in the wounds of Christ: that so the punishment due unto my sinnes may passe over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee give me now in this great instant, full Patience, proportionable Comfort, and a heart ready to dye for thy Honour, the King's happinesse, and this Churches preservation. And my zeale to these (farre from Arrogancy be it spoken,) is all the sinne (humane frailty excepted and all incidents thereto.) which is yet knowne to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say in this particular of Treason; but otherwise my sinnes are many and great: Lord pardon them all, and those especially (what ever they are) which have drawne downe this present judgement upon me: and when thou hast given me strength to beare it, doe with me as seems best in thine owne eyes: and carry me through death that I may looke upon it in what visage soever it shall appeare to me, Amen. And that there may be a stop of this issue of bloud, in this more then miserable Kingdom, (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too; as well as for my selfe) O Lord, I beseech thee; give grace of Repentance to all Bloud-thirsty people; but if they will not repent, O Lord confound all their devices, Defeat and Frustrate all their Designes and Endeavors upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and His Posterity after Him in their just Rights and Priviledges, the Honour and Conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the Preservation of this Poore Church in her Truth, Peace, and Patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed People under their ancient Lawes, and in their native Liberties. And when thou hast done all this in meere mercy for them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulnessse, and with Religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandements all their daies: So Amen, Lord Iesus Amen, and receive my Soule into thy Bosome Amen.

Our Father which art, &c.

XII.

The Speech and Prayers being ended, he gave the Paper which he read unto Doctor *Sterna*, desiring him to shew it to his other Chaplaines, that they might know how he departed out of this world, and so prayed God to shew his mercies and blessings on them. And noting how one *Hinde* had employed himselfe in taking a Copy of his Speech as it came from his mouth; he desired him not to *doe him wrong* in publishing a false or imperfect Copy. Which as *Hinde* promised him to be carefull of, calling for punishment from above if he should doe otherwise; so hath he reasonably well performed his promise: the Alterations or Additions which occurre therein, being perhaps the worke of those who perused his Papers, and were to Authorise them to the publicke view, to fit it more unto the palat of the City faction, and make it more consistent with the credit of those guilty men, who had voted to his condemnation. This done, he next applied himselfe to the *fatall Blocke*, as to the Haven of his rest. But finding the way full of people, who had placed themselves upon the *Theatre* to behold the *Tragedy*, he desired *he might have roome to dye*, beseeching them to let *him have an end of his miseries*, which he had endured very long. All which hee did with so serene and calme a minde, as if he had beene rather taking order for another mans funerall, then making way unto his owne. Being come neare the *Blocke*, he put off his doublet, and used some words to this effect. *Gods will be done, I am willing to goe out of this world, no man can be more willing to send me out of it.* And seeing through the chinkes of the boards that some people were got under the *Scaffold*, about the very place where the *Blocke* was seated, he called on the Officers for some dust to stop them, or to remove the people thence, saying it was no part of his desires, that *his blood should fall upon the heads of the People*. Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor looke upon his bloudy and malicious enemies with more *Christian charity*. And thus farre he was gone in his way towards *Paradise*

D

with

with such a Primitive magnanimity, as equalled, if not exceeded the example of ancient martyrs, When he was somewhat interrupted in his quiet passage by one Sir *John Clotworthy*, a fire-brand brought from *Ireland* by the Earle of *Warwicke* to increase the Combustions in this Kingdome. Who finding that the *mockings and revilings* of malicious people had no power to move him, or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion; would needes put in, and try what he could do with his *sponge and vineger*, and stepping to him neare the block, asked him, (with such a purpose as the *Scribes and Pharisees* used to propose questions to our Lord and Saviour) not to learne by him but to tempt him, or to expose him to some disadvantage with the standers by, what was the comfortablest saying which a dying man could have in his mouth. To which he meekely made this answer, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo; i. e. I desire to bee dissolv'd and to bee with Christ.* Being asked againe what was the fittest speech a man could use, to expresse his confidence and assurance; he answered with the same spirit of meeknesse, that such *assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to expresse it rightly.* Which when it would not satisfie the troublesome and impertinent man (who aimed at something else then such satisfaction) unlesse hee gave some word, or place of Scripture, whereupon such assurance might bee truely founded; hee used some words to this effect, that it was the *Word of God concerning CHRIST*, and *his dying for us.* And so without expecting any further questions (for hee perceived by the manner of Sir *John's* proceedings, that there would bee no end of his interruptions, if he hearkned any longer to him) he turned towards his *Executioner* (the gentler and discreeter man of the two) and gave him mony, saying, without the least distemper or change of countenance, *here, honest freind, God forgive thee, and doe thy office upon mee with mercy,* and having given a signe when the blow should come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth.

The

The Lord Arch-bishops Prayer, as hee
kneeled by the Blocke.

Lord, I am comming as fast as I can, I know I must passe through the shadow of death, before I can come to see thee. But it is but umbra mortis, a meere shadow of death, a little darknesse upon nature; but thou by thy merits and passion hast broke through the jawes of death. So, Lord receive my Soule, and have mercy upon mee, and blesse this Kingdome with Peace and Plenty, and with brotherly love and oharity, that there may not bee this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for JESUS CHRIST's sake, if it bee thy will. Then laying his head upon the Blocke, and praying silently to himselfe, he said aloud, *Lord receive my Soule*, which was the signall given to the Executioner, who very dextrously did his office, and tooke it off at a blow: his soule ascending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams bosome*, and leaving his Body on the Scaffold, to the care of men. A spectacle so unpleasing unto most of those who had desired his death with much heat and passion, that many who came with greedy eyes to see him suffer, went backe with weeping eyes when they saw him dead; their consciences perhaps bearing witnesse to them, as you know whose did, that they had sinned in being guilty of such innocent blood. Of those, whom onely curiosity, and desire of novelty brought thither to behold that unusuall sight, many had not the patience to attend the issue, but went away as soon as the speech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their resolutions towards the King and the Church, whose honour and religious purposes they saw so clearely vindicated by this glorious Martyr. And for the rest (the most considerable, though perhaps the smallest part of that great assembly) as they came thither with no other intentiō, then to assist him with their prayers, to imbalm his body with their teares,

XIII

and to lay up his dying speeches in their hearts and memories : so when they had performed those offices of Christian duty , they comforted themselves with this , that as his life was honourable, so his death was glorious, the pains whereof were short and momentary to himselfe, the benefit like to be perpetuall, unto them and others , who were resolved to live and dye in the Communion of the Church of England.

XIV.

Acts 6.15

But to proceed (for I have some few things to note) it was observed, that whereas other men, when they come to the *Blocke*, use to looke pale, and wan, and ghastly, and are even dead before the blow, he on the contrary seemed more fresh and cheerfull , then he had done any part of the day before : a cleare and gallant spirit being like the Sunne, which shews greatest alwayes at the setting. And as the Scripture telleth us of Saint Stephen the *Proto Martyr*, that whilst he spake his last Oration before the chiefe *Priests* and *Elders* of the *Jewes*, they of the *Counsell* looking stedfastly upon him , saw his face as it had beene the face of an *Angell* : so was it generally observed , not without astonishment, that all the while our *Martyr* prayed upon the *Blocke*, the Sunne which had not shewn it selfe all the day till then, did shine directly on his face, which made him looke most comfortably (that I say not gloriously) but presently as soone as the Blow was given, withdrew behinde a cloud againe, and appeared no more, as we are credibly advertised by good hands from *London*, though it be otherwise reported in their weekly Pamphlets. And if the bodies of us men be capable of any happinesse in the *grave*, he had as great a share therein, as he could desire , or any of his friends expect ; his body being accompanied to the earth with great multitudes of people, whom love, or curiosity, or remorse of conscience had drawne together, purposely to performe that office, and decently interred in the Church of *All-hallowes Barking* (a Church of his owne Patronage and Jurisdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of

of the Church of England. In which it may be noted, as a thing remarkable, that being whilst he lived the greatest Champion of the *Common-Prayer-Booke*, here by Law established, he had the honour being dead, to be buried in the forme therein prescribed, after it had beene long disused, and reprobated in most Churches of London. Nor need posterity take care to provide his Monument. Hee built one for himselfe whilst he was alive: it being well observed by Sir Edw. Dering (one of his most malicious enemies, and hee who threw the first stone at him, in the beginning of this Parliament) that Saint Pauls Church will be his perpetuall Monument, and his owne Booke (against the Jesuite) his lasting Epitaph.

In his
Book of
Speeches.

XV.

Thus dyed this most Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate: when he had lived 71 yeares, 13 weekes, 4 dayes; if at the least he may be properly said to dye, the great example of whose vertue shall continue alwaies, not only in the mindes of men, but in the Annals of succeeding Ages, with Renowne and Fame. But how he lived, what excellent parts he was composed of, and how industriously he employed those parts, for the advancement of Gods honour, his Soveraignes Power and Safety, and the Churches Peace, will be a worke becomming a more able pen; unto whose care and diligence I commend the same. And so I leave him to that comfort which the Psalmist gives him, and 'tis the greatest comfort can befall those men, which have beene tortured on the Racke of malicious tongues: viz. *The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, and shall not be afraid of any evill report.* Pl. 112. v. 6. 7.



Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode. 8.

Dignum Laude virum Musa vetat mori.

ANd yet not leave thee thus, I faine would try
 A line or two in way of *Elegie* ;
 And waile so sad a losse, if to expresse
 The greatnesse of it would not make it lesse :
 If to lament thee might not vex thee more,
 Then all the scornes thou hast endur'd before ;
 And make thee thinke we envied thee thy start,
 Or doubted that thou wer't not what thou art.
 Yet, with thy leave, I needs must droppe a verse,
 Write it with Teares, and fit it for thy herse ;
 And at this distance from thy grave, which lacks
 The pompes of sorrow, hang my heart with blacks.

Religious Prelate, what a calme hast thou
 I'th midst of all those turbulent stormes, which now
 Shipwrack this Island ? At how cheape a rate
 Hast thou procur'd this change of thy Estate ?
 The *Mitre* for a *Crowne*, a few poore dayes
 For endlesse blisse, vile earth for heavenly joyes !
 Such glories hast thou found, such alteration,
 In this thy highest, as thy last *Translation*.
 How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they
 Advanc'd thee thus, and chalk'd thee out the way ;
 A way so welcome to thee ! No *Divine*
 But knowes the *Red Sea* leads to *Palestine* ;
 And that since *J E S U S* sanctified the *Crosse*,
 Death's the best purchase, life the greatest losse.

Nor be thou griev'd, blest't Soule, that men doe still

Pursue

Pursue thee with blacke slaunders, and doe kill
 Thy shadow now, and trample on thy Ghost,
 (As *Hectors* Carcasse by the *Grecian* host;) 46
 Or that thou want'st *inscriptions*, and a stone.
 T'ingrave thy name, and write thy Titles on.
 Thou art above those trifles, and shalt stand
 As much above mens malice. Though the hand
 Of base detraction practice to defame
 Thy spotlesse vertues, yet impartiall fame
 Shall doe thee all just honours, and set forth
 To all succeeding times thy matchlesse worth.
 No Annals shall be writ but what relate
 Thy happy influence both on Church and State;
 Thy zeale to publicke order, thy great parts
 For all affaires of weight, thy love to Arts:
 And to our shame and his great glory, tell
 For whose deare sake, by whose vile hands he fell
 (A death so full of merits, of such price,
 To God and man so sweet a sacrifice;
 As by good Church-law may his name preferre
 To a fixt *Rubrick* in the Calender.
 And let this silence the pure Sect's complaint,
 If they make *Martyrs*, we may make a Saint.)
 Or should men envy thee this right, thy praise
 An *Obelisque* unto it selfe can raise.
 Thy brave attempt on *Pauls* in times to come
 Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe.
 Thy *Booke* shall be thy *Statua*, where we finde
 The image of thy nobler part, thy minde.
 Thy name shall be thine *Epitaph*; and he
 Which hear's or read's of that, shall publish thee
 Above the reach of *Titles*, and shall say
 None could expresse thy worthes a braver way.
 And thus though murder'd, thou shalt never dye,
 But live renown'd to all Posterity.

Rest :

(39)

Rest thou then happy in sweets of blisse,
Th' *Elysian* fields, the Christians *Paradise*;
Exempt from worldly cares, secure from feares,
And let us have thy Prayers, as thou our Teares.

Ad Regem CAROLUM.

*Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior, quam tibi, CAROLI.*

Horat. Carm. l. i. Ode. 24.

FINIS.

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